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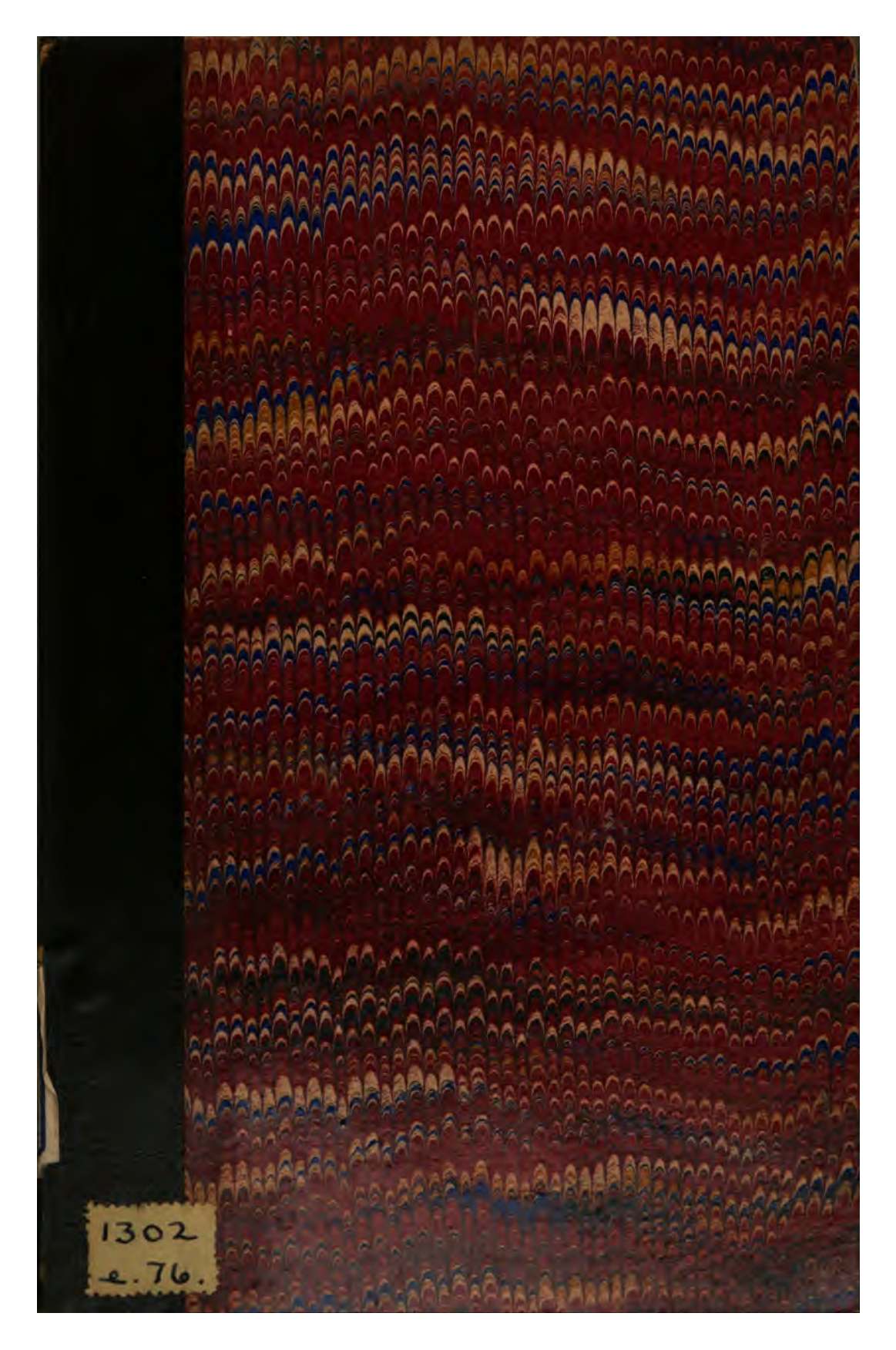
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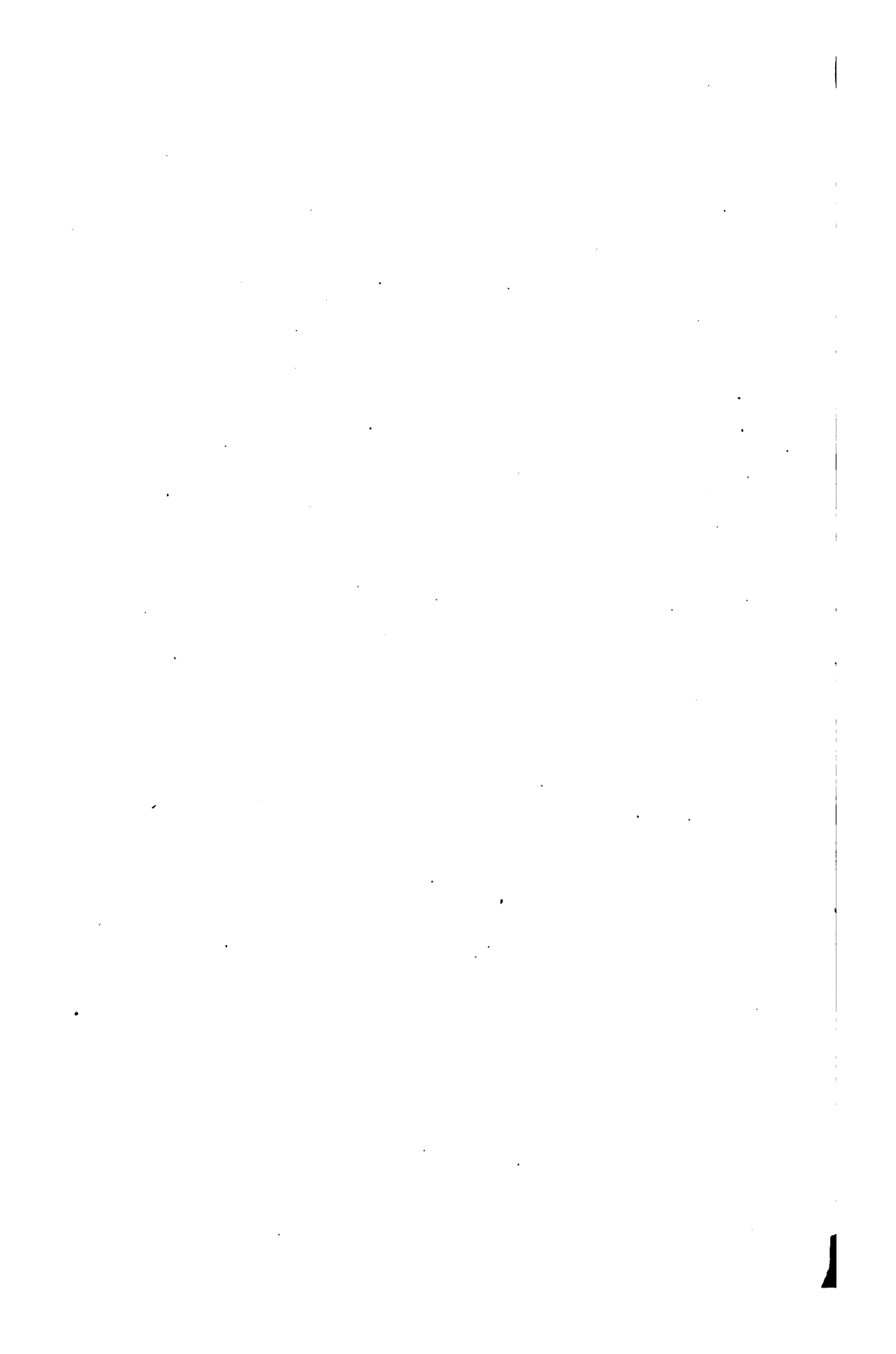
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ACCUSATION NO VERDICT;

OR,

A REPLY

TO

An Anonymous Pamphlet,

ENTITLED

"REMARKS ON POPERY," &c.

BY THE REV. JOHN WILLIAMS,

Πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίως καὶ τὸντο γέγραπται
τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροῦσθαι.

Δημοσθένης περὶ Στεφανοῦ.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY JOHN EVANS,

AT THE BRISTOL OBSERVER-OFFICE,

AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE BOOKSELLERS.

1823.

[Price Eighteen-pence.]



ACCUSATION NO VERDICT.

GENTLE READER! thou hast probably perused a small tract, entitled "Remarks on Popery," containing an edifying exposition of the wickedness of the Papists, "price only 3*d.*, 2*s.* 6*d.* per dozen, or 17*s.* per hundred." No doubt thou didst uplift thy hands and eyes in unison to Heaven, to supplicate its light and mercy upon the poor idolators! No doubt, as thine eye successively glanced at the crimes of idolatry and blasphemy, and sacrilege, and intolerance, and bigotry, and persecution, and mummery, and superstition, and ignorance, and rebellion, and butchery, and bloodshed, and many other pretty words of the same cast—no doubt thy freezing blood crept back to thy heart, leaving a ghastly affright to chill the cheek, a pale horror to quiver on thy lip, and the charitable pamphlet to tremble in thy hand!

..... Gelidusque per ima cucurrit
Ossa tremor!

Perchance, however, thou mayest some time have heard a homely sort of admonition, *Audi alteram partem* ("Hear the other side"); if so, thou wilt allow the poor culprits to raise their voice in self-defence, and, before thou passest sentence, to put in their plea of "Not guilty."

But, alas! what profane tongue shall dare to question this oracle of truth? or what unhallowed pen shall attempt to disfigure and to blot a page so consecrated? It issues from the press under forbidding auspices, and with prepossessing indications. Like a Church-Catechism, it is sold by the hundred; it would seem, for the godly purpose of distribution; who, then, will presume to obstruct so benevolent a design? It issues from a Depository for Religious Tracts; who then will dispute its orthodoxy? It is recommended by two large placards, with "Popery" inscribed thereon in most glorious characters, to tell the wonder-loving multitude that the animal ycleped "Popery" is as great a prodigy of Nature, and as well worth seeing as the Bonassus! Who, then, will say, that the small sum of 3*d.*, paid for the peep, is lost or mis-spent? But, to be grave; I need not inform my reader that such signs are not quite as yet established by logicians as the *criteria* of truth. The question, therefore, when divested of these extraneous recommendations, resolves itself into this simple query: Is the delineation of the Roman Catholic Creed, contained in that pamphlet, faithfully sketched from the original, or is it not? If it be—if Popery be that monstrous compound of rebellion, persecution, and blasphemy—that revolting assemblage of anti-social, anti-Christian and regicidal principles reduced to practice, which the mere perusal of that tract would lead one to suppose, then, our upon such a creed! then would the writer of this

fly from it with abhorrence ; then would he, *plenis faucibus*, right lustily join in the yell of "No Popery!" then would he exhort his countrymen to hang out at their doors "Popery" emblazoned in the largest type, as a protecting Hermes to the threshold, as a caution to the unwary, and as a SCARECROW to the Papist ! If the Catholic be an idolator, a rebel, a blasphemer, an oath-breaker, do, in the name of Justice, brand him with infamy, scout him from society ! But the writer of this begs to say that, although a member of that communion, he has not as yet discovered those detestable principles in the creed which he professes ; and begs this additional favour of the Remarker, to be allowed to possess as full and competent a knowledge of his *own* tenets, as any member of the Protestant Church. This he conceives to be a fair and modest request. Grounding himself, therefore, on its concession, he will proceed to disprove the allegations of the Remarker, and to shew cause why a damnatory sentence should not be passed on the *creed* of the Roman Catholics.

There are many desultory remarks and irrelevant imputations scattered throughout the pages of the pamphlet, to which I shall hereafter advert. It is impossible to follow the train of Anti-Catholic ecstasies, or to soar after the Remarker, while flying in the sublime regions of prophetic enthusiasm. He wanders too much to allow me either time or inclination to be his footman in his various evagations. His composition partakes of

the spirit of lyric poetry: 'tis enthusiastically bold, and consequently an unconnected train of thought, a "*rudis indigestaque moles*." I shall therefore embody the objections contained in the invective. The ostensible, nay, the *avowed* object of the pamphlet is of a political nature, viz. to advance reasons why Catholics should be excluded from a share in the Legislative authority of the State. What relates to this head, in the work before us, I shall reduce to three points:—First, as members of society (at least among Protestants), we are enemies to harmony, peace, and conciliation; Secondly, as subjects, we are ready for the first opportunity of rebelling against a Protestant Government; and, Thirdly, when invested with power, we abuse it by intolerance and persecution—in short, we are neither in subjection to be trusted, nor in power endured.

I must premise that it is not only our *actions*, but our *creed and principles* that are impugned. Every discriminating mind must allow that the acts of individuals can never constitute the *creed* of that society to which those individuals are attached. To identify facts and principles is, most assuredly, the part of an unthinking mind. Consequently, as I should not be justified in attributing to the *tenets* of the Protestant Church, the misdeeds of men who profess her tenets, so, *vice versa*, we justly claim the application of the same maxim to ourselves.

The first charge I shall soon dismiss. "They never *will*, they never *can* be conciliated," says

the Retmarker.* He seems to imagine that by principle we cherish a deeply-rooted, a constitutional hatred to Protestants. He is egregiously deceived. Irritation may exist; bad passions may gain the ascendancy in the human breast; but this the Catholic Church most emphatically condemns. By the religion we profess, we are bound to love our Protestant neighbour as we love ourselves; and *the pain of eternal damnation* we denounce to the man who hates his fellow-man, to whatever persuasion or denomination he may belong. Charity is universal. The want of charity is as bad as heresy, says M. Gregoire; and "though we should have faith so as to remove mountains, and have not charity, we are become as a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." Protestants are formed to the image of God; their souls are bought with the price of the precious blood of a God-man; why then should we hate them? We may regret that they have fallen off from the old church, to which, by the firmest conviction, we adhere; but themselves we love, we are bound to love; and this, not with the equivocal and often hypocritical expression of the lips, but with the sterling charity of the heart. "I dislike the error," says St. Augustine, "but I love the man." But the assertion I am about to advance will definitively settle the matter with regard to our principles on this point. It is this: *there is not a Catholic Priest in the kingdom,*

* Remarks, p. 14.

who would admit to the Sacraments the man who should refuse heartily to renounce, by sorrow and repentance, any hatred, conceived against any one of his Protestant brethren ; though that hatred were confined within the precincts of the heart, and although the Catholic in question were stretched on the bed of death, and on the point of passing the gates of eternity. For "he that hateth his brother is a murderer, and you know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him."—ST. JOHN.

But at least we are disloyal subjects. "It is impossible, says the Remarker, for a man to be at once a good Papist, and a good subject to a Protestant Sovereign."* The charge we most unequivocally deny. In loyal attachment to the reigning Sovereign, whether Protestant or Catholic, we will yield to none. The King derives his power from the King of Kings ; whoever therefore resisteth him, "resisteth the ordinance of God." To our Protestant Monarch we owe an allegiance from which neither Pope nor Cardinal, Priest nor Potentate, can exempt us. Think not I am stating principles which we hold not. We have acted on them on the most trying occasions. Look to the reign of Elizabeth. When the "Invincible Armada" advanced its proud crescent to the British shores, flushed with the vain confidence of victory, did a single Catholic compromise his allegiance ? Not one : not a man stirred to their assistance, as Protestant authors have

* Remarks, p. 8.

abundantly testified; among the rest Osborne,* and Sir Robert Cotton.† And had they not every motive to urge them to such a step? Aliens in their native land, unprotected as outlaws, proscribed as idolaters, punished as traitors, was it not a tempting occasion? But no: conscience was stronger than interest; the sacred duty of allegiance forbade an emancipation purchased by desertion. They rallied round the throne, arrayed themselves under the standard of their liege Sovereign, and hurled defiance to a hostile banner, though consecrated by the hands of the Pope.‡ In fact, they enthusiastically lent their assistance to the common cause, by volunteering into the ranks or equipping vessels at their own expense, and entrusting the command to their Protestant fellow-subjects.§ Hence we may account for that declaration of the Spanish Admiral, the Duke of Medina, that “he would make no distinction between the Protestant and the Catholic.”||

How did they act with regard to Charles the First? With an unshaken loyalty. No sooner was the standard of rebellion unfurled, than Sir Arthur Aston,¶ and other Catholics from all

* Hist. Mem. p. 28; ed. Oxford, 1658.

† Cotton's Posthumous Works, p. 156; London, 1672.

‡ Sixtus the Fifth.

§ Vide Stowe, Hume, and Echard.

|| Read likewise the Loyal Protestation of the Catholics, presented to Elizabeth, anno 1602, notwithstanding the proceedings of the Papal chair against her. {Dodd, vol. ii., p. 292.

¶ See Lord Castlemain's Defence of his Apology, passim.

quarters, tendered their services to the Monarch. From the first engagement at Edge-Hill, where they rescued the royal standard,* down to the escape of Charles the Second, from Worcester, they proved themselves such faithful adherents to the throne in its distress, as to have elicited the most flattering testimonies from Protestants themselves. For some time after the battle of Worcester, Charles's life was exclusively entrusted to the fidelity of Catholics. The Whitgreaves, the Pendrils, the Giffords, in Staffordshire, were all Catholics. They exhibited on that critical occasion a most disinterested and undaunted loyalty. Death was denounced by the rebels to the man that dared to conceal him; a hundred thousand pounds were offered for his apprehension; yet their attachment was inflexible: their conscience spurned the golden bait, and braved the impending danger.†

I have selected these two instances, because, from the allurements to revolt which accompanied them, they more clearly prove the steadiness of Catholic loyalty. But the Remarker accuses Catholics of having joined the Pretender. I pretend not to justify those that did. King George was the lawful Sovereign—consequently the Chevalier

* See Lord Castlemain's Apology and Defence.

† Gother challenges any one to mention a single Catholic of consequence implicated in this defection, and to produce four of *any* rank armed against their King. Had the Reformers acted similarly, England would not have been convulsed by civil war.

was what his title indicates, a Pretender. I defend not the *acts*, but the *principles* of Catholics. However, I must say, that possibly many might have espoused his cause, *bona fide*, from the sincere but mistaken notion of the strength of his title, founded on his lineal descent from the Stuarts.—The Irish Rebellion of 1798 was not a Catholic Rebellion. Mr. Pitt declared, in the House of Commons, it was not a war of religion; Mr. Plunkett has repeatedly averred the same. Were not many of the leaders Protestants? Among the rest, Harvey, Grogan, Keogh, &c.? But I hope the Remarker, in candour, does not mean to insinuate that, because out of 2,400 Catholic Clergymen, two or three were so infatuated as to favour and abet the Insurgents, therefore the Clergy were the “fomentors of the revolt.” It would be unjust and unfeelingly injurious to that body. Look to the Pastoral Addresses on the occasion! look to the excommunications issued by the Bishops against the Rebels! look to the laudable exertions of individuals among them—for instance, the courage and charity of the Rev. J. Corrin, parish-priest, now living in Wexford. The Rebels were on the point of executing twenty-five unfortunates, on Wexford-bridge, June, 1798; the Rev. Gentleman threw himself on his knees, in the midst of the infuriated mob, conjuring them, by all that was sacred, to abandon their atrocious design; and happily succeeded in his work of charity. This most undoubtedly was the spirit of the Clergy at that

time ; and the two or three who acted otherwise were a disgrace to their country, to their religion, and to their sacred character. With regard to Murphy's Letter, if it be genuine, it is an abominable production, but casts no more reflection on the rest of the Clérgy, than the infamous practices of the Ex-Bishop of Clogher can implicate in the same guilt the Protestant Prelacy of Ireland. But I will suppose the Irish Rebellion was exclusively Catholic. What then? Is the Catholic Church to be stigmatized as rebellious, because these famished Irishmen, goaded by provocation, oppressed by evils, physical and moral, chose to resist the constituted authorities? I pretend not to advocate their delusion, nor to palliate their disorders. I reprobate them as much as my adversary. It is the duty of a subject to prefer the preservation of social order and public security, to the resentment of his wrongs, whether real or imaginary. But he that studies the human mind, and considers it as influenced by circumstances, will not always expect a conduct in accordance to the principles it professes. He will remember that man is frail. Considering, therefore, the subject in this light, I apprehend that, were the Anti-Catholic party in Ireland, by some direction of Providence, to be placed under a Catholic Monarchy, *by law established and by the majority approved*—judging from their extreme devotedness to Protestant principles, and from the occasional ebullitions of feeling manifested by some of the party,—I rather apprehend the

mortification they would experience would be so galling, and the repugnance to a Catholic Government so deeply imbibed, as to warrant the expectation that some unconquered spirits would spurn the allegiance due to a rightful Sovereign. What, then, does this prove? Not the depravity of principle, I hope, but the frailty of man.

With respect to Irish loyalty, place the Irishman in the field of battle, at a distance from the irritations of faction and the goadings of want and oppression; will he be wanting to his duty? A vast proportion of the army is composed of Irish Catholics. Is it ever heard that they fight with less ardour than their Protestant companions in arms? Ask the Duke of Wellington if they did not fight with the bravest, and bleed with the foremost? Ask him, if the thousands of Roman Catholics under his command did not contribute their full share in elevating him to that glory which now surrounds his character—if the laurels which encircle his brow were not gathered by Catholic hands, and the many trophies which attest his victories were not raised by Catholic valour? Did the Roman Catholics inherit, by principle, a hatred to the Protestant government—did their religious antipathies predominate over their patriotism, surely, with arms in their hands and strength in their numbers, they would have deserted to the Catholic armies that have often been arrayed against them: in the supposition before us, the attraction to the other side would certainly have preponderated; and what would have prevented

it? But no; the Catholic knows it to be his most sacred duty to defend his King, and to stand or fall by his country; and, though he be not urged forward by the stimulus of interest, like his Protestant comrade, yet he conscientiously and disinterestedly spills his blood for a country in which he is by comparison degraded as a Helot, and gathers a laurel which is not to proclaim his own title to the honours of his country.

And have Protestants never failed in their allegiance? Have they never rebelled against lawful authority? They have, repeatedly; but this, in candour, I will not impute to them as a tenet of their faith, but to the frailty of the individuals concerned. The same ground of exemption evidently applies to Catholics. Will not ~~the~~ Remarker allow that a Catholic prince has as much right to command the allegiance of his Protestant subjects, as a Protestant that of his Catholic? Most undoubtedly: nay, let the lawful prince be a Turk or an Infidel, a Nero or a Caligula, it is wrong to rebel. ~~X~~ This St. Paul inculcated with regard to the Heathen sovereigns of his time, and this the primitive Christians exemplified in their own loyal forbearance, under the lash of persecution. With regard, then, to Protestant rebellions, did not the French Protestants, or the Huguenots, again and again rise against their Catholic sovereigns? Did not their leader, the Admiral Coligni, boast that he had fought four battles against his prince? See Davila's History of the Civil Wars. Consult,

X. ... the ...

likewise, Dr. Heylin, a Protestant. The title of one of his books runs thus, "Their manifold seditions, conspiracies and insurrections, in the realm of France,"* alluding to the Huguenots. Speaking of the establishment of Calvinism, in Geneva, in 1528, the same Doctor uses these memorable words: it was "a discipline begotten in rebellion, born in sedition, and nursed by faction."† Has the Remarker never heard of the conspiracies of Meaux, Amboise, and St. Germain—of the revolt in the Netherlands, and of the distracted and embroiled state of Germany, subsequent to the Reformation? Has he never heard of the violent proceedings of the Protestants in Scotland? of their deposing the Queen-Mother, and of forcing Mary to seek refuge in England?‡ Has he never heard of the insurrections against our Queen Mary—particularly of the movement in favour of Lady Jane Grey? Knows he not that Cranmer himself supported it; and that Ridley, at St. Paul's Cross, in a *Sermon*, exhorted the people to stand firm to Queen Jane?§ And, at that period, was the succession hereditary, or elective? It was hereditary; consequently, to oppose Mary, had she even been a Pagan, was a violation of her right. But not only the sword, but occasionally the pen of Protestants, has advocated the disturbances of the State; not only

* Vide Heylin, *Hist. Presb.* lib. ii. p. 47; Oxford, 1670.

† *Cosmog.* i. 136.

‡ Vide Heylin, *Cosmog.* i. 283.

§ Baker, p. 215.—Item, Stow; anno 1553, p. 1035.

have they espoused them amidst the tumultuous din of the field, but sometimes even in the quiet lucubrations of the closet. Luther says, "you complain that by our Gospel the world has become tumultuous: God be thanked!"* Calvin assures us that when "earthly Princes erect themselves against God, they lose their authority; therefore we must rather spit in their faces, than obey them."† Zuinglius advocates a similar doctrine.‡ Collier likewise tells us§ that in 1567, "when the Queen was imprisoned and deposed, Knox, and some other preachers, thundered against her out of the pulpits, affirming that she ought to be deprived *both of authority and life*." Were a Catholic to utter such language, and that in a pulpit too, what an outcry would be raised! What a happy theme for an Anti-Catholic philippic! what exclamations! what interjections! what figures of speech, prosopopæias, apostrophes, and pathetic appeals, to the manes of departed worthies!—In fine, what *large letters* would have emblazoned it abroad to the Public! But, as it is, the Remarker will surely not attempt to justify the facts just adduced: he cannot as a Christian—he cannot as a Protestant. His Common Prayer-Book puts into his mouth these words: "Cut off, O Lord! all those that turn religion

* Loc. Com. 57; ed. Magdeburg, 1594.

† In Daniel, chap. vi. ver. 22 and 25.

‡ Epist. lib. iv. p. 168. — Item, tom. i. in expl. art. 42, p. 84.

§ Hist. Dict., article Knox.

into ridicule, and faith into faction." If facts, therefore, are to prove our principles, then we both are guilty.

Iliacos intra muros peccatur, et extra.

But if principles stand aloof from the unauthorized acts of individuals, in the name of justice, do allow us the same plea of vindication with yourselves !

A third imputation, repeatedly urged by the Remarker, charges us with cruelty, intolerance, and persecution. This is an odious subject—a subject which good feeling, and mutual forbearance should induce our Protestant brethren to avoid. But look, Reader! to the tract before you ; peruse its unsparing attacks under this head ; and you will call upon us, however reluctant, to defend our character, and wipe away the aspersion. “ Catholics, then, have persecuted.”—Granted : ergo, the Roman Catholic church by principle persecutes.—A most unwarrantable inference. Here is the counterpart.—Protestants have persecuted. Granted it must be, as history attests it : ergo, the Protestant Church by principle persecutes. A most unwarrantable inference ! will the Remarker exclaim.—My object, therefore, in replying at all to this unpleasant charge is, conciliation ; my object in glancing at the persecuting acts of some Reformers is conciliation ; it is, that we may both sit down together in harmony and concord, and keep each other in countenance by the mutual acknowledgment of the foibles of our

forefathers. This, then, is our motto, with Tertullian: "*Non est religionis, religionem, cogere.*" There is no connexion between a sword of steel and the acumen of an immaterial intellect. Incongruous, then, in the extreme, is the attempt to combat, with an edge of metal, the resistance of an unconvinced understanding; and if some Catholics have been so unacquainted with the difference between moral and physical agencies as to try the experiment, I can remain a staunch Catholic without subscribing to its propriety, did it even emanate from the Roman Pontiff himself.

Now let us examine the strength of the *pegs* on which he attempts to hang his imputations, and to fasten them to our Church. I shall select the strongest, and, I presume, succeed in breaking them. "We cannot," says he, quoting the Bishop of Hereford, "forget it was the creed of those who massacred the Protestants on the day of St. Bartholomew."* Neither can *we*, Sir: with upraised hands we abhor, we execrate it. It was an abominable deed, an inhuman butchery, a foul blot on those who advised it. But why, in the name of consistency, is it thrown in the faces of the British Catholics, or of Catholics at all? Let it rest on the heads of Charles the Ninth, and of Catherine de Medicis, or on those who advised and instigated them to it. Besides, religion was not the plea for its perpetration. Even if it were, we are not to be arraigned for the intemperate

* Remarks, p. 17.

fanaticism of any man acting against the mild injunctions of the gospel of charity. Do, Sir, I again entreat you, draw a line of demarcation between acts and principles: draw it for your own protection. Religion, however, was not even the avowed object in view. It was nothing but a piece of state-policy, contrived or adopted by the Queen-Dowager—noted for her intrigues, and for that state-versatility by which she alternately favoured the Hugonots and the Catholics. Religion, then, was out of the question. It served to identify the interests of the respective parties, no doubt; but it was in consequence of the *political* conduct of the Hugonots that the tyrannical mandate was issued. These Protestants had repeatedly rebelled; and the report was circulated that the Admiral Coligni was maturing a plot for the overthrow of the Government. The Reformers had previously massacred several Catholics in Paris;* they had put them to death in other parts; Poltrot, the murderer of Francis, Duke of Guise, anno 1563, publicly confessed that he had been urged to it by the Admiral.† In fact, the King himself disclaimed all motives on the score of religion, as De Serres,‡ himself a Hugonot, informs us that His Majesty had signified, in his letters to his Ambassadors, that “the

* Davila, Hist. Civil Wars; lib. iii. p. 68.

† See Heylin, Hist. Presb. lib. ii. p. 68.—*In justice, however*, to the Admiral, I must state that he denied the charge on oath.

‡ Chap. ix. p. 719. Paris, 1658.

tumult concerned not religion, but the preservation of his kingdom, family, and person, against the efforts of the Admiral and other seditious, who had conspired his own and his mother's death." Let, then, the case stand and plead for itself. Why the Catholics of England and Ireland, in 1823, should be abhorred for the excesses of French Machiavelians, or French bigots, in 1572, I must confess I have not genius enough to discover.

"It was the creed of Mary, who, on a principle of conscience, devoted Cranmer, &c. to the flames."* Be it so: what then? Are we to be answerable for the misdirected zeal of any one's conscience? Is the Catholic Church, spread over the Christian world, to be judged by the conscience of Mary? Hard indeed! But perhaps a few facts will induce you to regard the actions in question in rather a different light. I mean not to defend the fires of Smithfield; I mean not to wash away the stain of persecution which has tinged the historic page of the reign of Mary; but, even in this instance, a cool candour will discover many incentives to retaliation—many provocations, many political resistances, highly calculated to urge to coercive measures a mind professing *any* creed. Her title was resisted by the partizans of Lady Jane; various insurrections harassed the Queen, *ex. g.* that of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Wyatt, &c.; Rose, the minister of Bow

* Remarks, p. 17.

church, prayed that, unless she changed her religion, God might shorten her days:* this prayer became so common, that an Act of Parliament was passed, declaring it treason—Pendleton, preaching at St. Paul's Cross, was shot at; Bourne, another clergyman, aimed at by a dagger; a Priest wounded, while celebrating mass at St. Margaret's Westminster; a gallows was erected in the public street (Cheapside), a cat suspended from it, clothed with vestments, and holding a piece of paper in form of a wafer;† besides many other mild indications of Christian forbearance,—all these, I say, urged the advisers of the Queen to that line of policy, which, in common with you, we lament and reprobate. Cardinal Pole, a Catholic, nay, the Pope's Legate, deprecated the application of the Penal Statutes; Charles the Fifth, a Catholic, offered her the same advice, on her accession to the throne; and it must be observed that she enforced no statute but what was the standing law of the realm. The Act of Henry IV., "de Hæretico Comburendo," was her instrument; this was even in force during the reign of her Protestant successors, down to Charles II., and occasionally acted upon. Mary certainly had imbibed, in consequence of the strict attention paid to her morals by her mother, Catherine of Arragon, an amiable and a merciful disposition. My authorities for the assertion are Protestant. "She was a lady of

* Vide Heylin, Hist. Church Eng. Q. M. p. 47.

† Heylin, *ibid.*

great virtues," says Burnet.* "She was a lady," says Bishop Godwin, "godly, *merciful*, chaste."† See likewise Baker‡ and Speed,§ and Camden.|| She likewise put a stop to that system of rapacity which had characterized the preceding reign,¶ and in the most disinterested and conscientious manner restored the church-property that had been annexed to the Crown. Thus the Church, of which the Remarker is a member, is indebted for something even to Queen Mary. Let him then, as an acknowledgement, make *some* allowance for the circumstances in which she found herself.**

* Abr. iii p. 212. † Q. M. p. 340.

‡ P. 367; ed. London, 1664. § P. 552; 1623.

|| Camden, Eliz., p. 6.

¶ Heylin, *passim*.

** Speaking of these executions in Mary's reign, the Tract takes occasion, in a note, to recommend a cheap edition of Fox's Martyrs, abridged. Here I must express my surprise that an author of such authority as Fox should be so studiously circulated among the undiscerning, and that, too, by the Church of England Tract Society. Even supposing his narratives to be perfectly correct, what good effect will follow? Will it not contribute to keep open the old sores of unchristian hostility, when we could produce a copious martyrology on the opposite side, and circulate it in a cheap form among the poorer Catholics. But Fox's authority is proved to be often utterly unworthy of credit. What right has Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, for instance, to claim the palm of martyrdom? Oldcastle was a traitor to his Sovereign; condemned as such by the Parliament at Leicester, anno 2 Henry V.; and acknowledged as such by Protestant authors themselves. See Walsingham and Stow. Sir Roger Acton was also a traitor. W. Flower, another martyr, attacked a priest at the altar: is this the Gospel-patience of a martyr of Christ? Some of his other martyrs were guilty of various

" It was the creed of those who, at one explosion, would have sacrificed the three Estates of the

misdemeanours; others were mad, by his own confession; nay, there have been instances of his enrolling in the martyrology people that were actually alive at the time he wrote.* The Protestant author of a work entitled "Papa Patens," (an. 1652), no friend to Catholics, as the title indicates, says that "others, of no small esteem in the Church of England, instead of acknowledging Fox's History a monument of martyrs, call it a book *fraught with traitors and heretics*."† Another Protestant informs us, "his facts are not always to be depended upon, and he often loses his temper."‡ Collier, too, in his Historical Dictionary, refers the reader to Parson's Examination of Fox's Calendar, wherein he exposes the "wilful mistakes and false citations" of the martyrologist, and in one instance undertakes to prove the enormous number of 120 falsehoods in the short space of 3 leaves!§ Collier leaves it to the reader's examination, professing not to determine the merits of the case, which he would have done had he been convinced of the injustice of the charge. Fox, too, was a Non-conformist; and indeed his whole calendar is replete with people of all sects, *not excepting Catholics*. What, then, does the Remarker say to this? If he so detest this "motley group" of all sects, as he professes in page 11— if he so deprecate any departure from "the venerable formularies of the Established Church," can he consistently, can he conscientiously, put into the hands of his fellow-subjects a work holding these sectarians up to admiration as most "holy martyrs of Jesus?" Can he, I say, do this, and not apprehend, as a consequence, the infusion of heterodox opinions into the minds of the unguarded? Will they not be naturally led, from admiration of these worthies, to the adoption of those peculiar opinions which, in his principles, they sanctified by the blood of martyrdom?

* Collier, Hist. Dict.

† P. 5.

‡ Encycl. Brit. art. Fox.

§ See Parsons, 3 Conversions of England, and Exam. of Fox's Saints, p. 412; 1604.

Realm."*—The Powder-Plot, Sir, was an infernal crime! Give me a more expressive term, and I will use it. Language furnishes not the word that will adequately express the abhorrence it deserves. But, supposing that it was even the result of a general combination among the Roman Catholics—supposing that every single individual in the land was implicated in the horrid scheme, and felt interested in its success; yet what follows? Are the sins of our forefathers to be visited upon their unoffending posterity? Or, is the Roman Catholic Church, in every age and in every nation, to be branded with the stigma of persecuting by principle, in consequence of the transient *act* of one set? But it was far otherwise: it was not the result of concert among the Catholic body; it was circumscribed within the narrow circle of a few wicked desperadoes, who, impatient under the action of the Penal Statutes, meditated a crime which would have befitted demons, rather than men; however provoked. This Satanic junto, composed of nine members, most assuredly acted like idiots, had they been instruments in the hands of the Catholics at large. At that time, there were Catholic Lords in Parliament—Lords Northampton, Montague, Arundel, Winchester, Abergavenny, &c.; in fine, twenty in all. The first Marquess, the first Earl, the first Viscount, and the first Baron were Catholics. Had they been instigated by the Catholic body, in the name of common sense, would they have blown up the *chiefs* of that body? "Father, brother, friend, ally,

* Remarks, p. 17.

Papist, all were to have been blown up," says Speed.* To Lord Monteagle only were confidentially entrusted the secrets of the ruffians. He, like a good Catholic and a loyal subject, forthwith communicated the affair to the Secretary Cecil; and thus, by Catholic loyalty, was the design frustrated. But, I even go farther. There are cogent reasons for suspecting that Cecil was privy to the plot, and that he even penned, or caused to be penned, the notice sent to Monteagle. That letter was received TEN days before the intended explosion. Why, the conspirators must have been mad, to allow such an interval to a man whose loyalty they had no reason to question; and the firmness of which loyalty his eventual conduct demonstrated. Is it easy, nay, is it *possible*, to suppose that, had they wished to succeed in their crime, or had they wished to escape the punishment of death, in case of detection, they would have manifested such folly? The professed object of the letter was, to prevent Monteagle from going to the House: most consummately infatuated, then, must be that conspirator that anticipates a single day, much more the long period of ten days! Then, the language in which it was couched, the known or suspected partiality of James for the Papists, and the avowed hostility of the Minister, strengthen the suspicion that it was a state-trick, hatched up for the purpose of casting an odium on the subjects of the Roman communion. King James used afterwards to call the 5th of November "Cecil's Holiday." Sander-

* P. 916; ed. 1623.

son, a Protestant, informs us that, to the complaints of the Papists, Cecil made this answer in justification, that "even so Nero set Rome on fire, and after laid the blame on the Christians."* Osborne, another Protestant, confesses "that it was a neat device of the Treasurer."† These circumstances therefore, and these authorities, will certainly justify a doubt, at least, as to the collusion of the Secretary with the designs of the miscreants. And yet this 5th of November is annually celebrated as a day of triumph over Popery, as a day of liberation from Popish cruelty, a day consecrated to invectives against Popish cruelty from the pulpit, and to denunciation of Popish tyranny, even in solemn supplications to a forgiving God! Surely this is calculated only to strengthen and perpetuate that unchristian hostility, which has but too frequently subsisted between us. Yes! it is calculated to excite bad passions on both sides: the Catholic must naturally feel hurt at being denounced as cruel and tyrannical; and the Protestant, hearing in the temple of God from the mouth of his pastors, a persevering denunciation of "Popish tyranny and cruelty," must almost regard it a part of his religion to consider a Popish fellow-subject a dangerous member of society. What, then, (will it be said,) are we not to thank God for such a deliverance? Undoubtedly: I thank God as

* Sanderson, King James, p. 336; 1665.

† Osborne, King James, p. 36. Cecil was soon after appointed Treasurer.

heartily that the black crime was not perpetrated as the most devoted Protestant in the land ; but that, in the face of Heaven, and at the foot of the throne of mercy and forgiveness, the diabolical act should be made to appear to the undiscerning flock as attributable to the Popish *religion*, (an impression which the general and unrestricted application of the word "Popish" must produce,) when that act was but the insulated crime of a few wretches,—a crime, abhorred by the Catholics of the present day ; a crime, disavowed and reprobated by the Catholics of those days ; a crime, perhaps fostered by the political connivance of a Protestant Minister himself,—'tis this that I lament. 'Tis in this I cannot discover that Christian forgiveness and charity, which is the sweetest trait in the gospel of Jesus. For I must again repeat, that the *natural* impression produced by those prayers against Popish villany, and by the demonstrations of vulgar triumph and popular enthusiasm annually displayed, must be a hatred and disgust for every member professing the "Popish" creed. And is this a Christian feeling? No: I again repeat it, had the Catholics of England, *to a man*, at that time favoured it, it would be no commendable act to hold up the Papists of the present day to public dislike, by the solemnity of a religious festival ; but, as I have shewn it to have been the unauthorised act of an unprincipled gang, the injury is increased tenfold. The Cato-Street plot was as much a Protestant plot as that of the 5th November was a Popish one ; and there exists

as much reason for the institution of a commemorative anniversary, to thank God for our deliverance from Protestant cruelty and Protestant tyranny on that occasion, as for the festival under consideration. But, it will be said, the Cato-Street conspirators were men of no principle at all. Granted—and what were Fawkes, Catesby, &c.? Assuredly, men of the most abandoned principles; assuredly, men in whose breasts there could not have glowed one spark of religion.

“ Ex uno disce omnes.”

Every other unjustifiable act of Catholics we disavow on the same principles, and prove their application to our *doctrines* unwarrantable and unjust. Did I wish to swell this pamphlet into a volume, I should feel the greatest satisfaction in producing abundant documents, to bear upon the three or four other matters of fact contained in the quotation from the Bishop of Hereford.* This, indeed, seems to have been intended, by our opponent as a sweeping broadside. He meant to assail us with a whole shower of balls—to overwhelm us with the power of his calibre, and fairly to sink our vessel. But a more misdirected fire could not be made. That quotation (*pace tua dixerim*) presents one of the most glaring instances of sophistry, of inconclusive and illogical argument, I ever beheld. In one minute I could oppose to it a perfect parody, just as applicable to the Protestants; and that more extended

* Remarks, p. 17 and 18.

and more diversified. But I will never attack my Protestant brethren with weapons so unfair ; I will never infer, because Protestantism is the creed of the majority of those who pass to the next world from the Old-Bailey drop, that therefore the Remarker's principles are calculated to lead him to Newgate.

With regard to the Inquisition, that favourite theme of declamation,* its abuses I reprobate as much as the Remarker ; nay, its very existence I am by no means, as a Catholic, bound to panegyryze or defend ; by no means is it identified with the Roman Catholic religion. This, being coeval with Christianity, existed centuries before the establishment of the Inquisitorial tribunal, which dates its origin as late as the opening of the 13th century, and was not introduced into Spain till 1448. It is partial in its operations, local in its extent, and precarious in its duration in the respective States which have admitted it. Those are, some of the states of Italy, with the Spanish and Portuguese dominions. By the present Constitution of Spain, the Catholic Religion only is allowed, yet the Inquisition has been abolished. Indeed it is always in the power of the temporal Heads of the State to suspend or suppress it ; neither was it ever established in any country without either the concurrence or the desire of the Monarch. In fact, view it in its origin, *ex. g.* with regard to the Albigenes in the south of France—view it in its commencement in Italy, and you will discover its

* Remarks, p. 6.

adoption designed as a temporal safeguard, connected in a great measure with the *political* government of the State. There exists, moreover, in England, a considerable degree of misinformation on the subject. The idea we form in general of its severities certainly exceeds the reality. For instance, as far as I can discover, there has not been above one case of capital punishment in Portugal, during a whole century; in Rome, *not one, since its first institution*; in Spain they have been more frequent, but the horrors of such executions, have been frequently the creatures of fancy, in the absence of authentic information.* We have certainly been favoured with flaming prints and paintings of Inquisitorial punishments, so as to shock the feelings of humanity; but, it appears to me, that were I to exhibit a view of a human fellow-creature, undergoing the punishment of *disembowelling*, with the executioner holding his blood-stained knife in one hand, and the steaming bowels of his yet palpitating victim in the other,—I apprehend the sensitive mind would start back as much from one as the other. “Why dost thou see the mote in thy brother’s eye, and seest not the beam in thy own?”

Now, then, let me ask, is the page of History unstained with Catholic blood? Have the Reformers preserved their hands untinged and immaculate? For the sake of humanity, I wish they had. But deeds of blood are indelibly writ-

* Observe likewise, that not only Heresy comes under the cognizance of the tribunal, but also Sodomy, Polygamy, Judaism, and Mahometanism.

ten on the truth-recording page. (I hate persecution, whether in a Catholic or a Protestant ; I wish not to screen those who have persecuted, were they, in other respects, the stoutest upholders of the Roman Catholic Church.) Protestants, I am sorry to say, have persecuted as well as Papists. Do I then wish to visit the acts of the Reformers on the Remarker ? Do I infer that his reforming principles would lead him to persecute ? By no means : I cannot stoop to such ratiocination. I heartily wish that, for the sake of charity, every act of Protestant-cruelty might be hushed in oblivion. But, since the excesses of Roman Catholics are constantly thrown in our faces, the desire of *conciliation itself* must elicit a publication of some of the unchristian lengths to which our separated brethren have occasionally proceeded, in order to inform them that their own and our ancestors are reciprocally debtors in this respect.

Stand, then, on the distant eminence of the nineteenth century, like a cool and unbiassed spectator, and view beneath you the clashing conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth. The sound of the battle has died away ; the tumult of faction has subsided. We are, therefore, at leisure to view the field of strife, with uninflamed passions and unexcited enthusiasm. View it with candour, temper, and impartiality, and you will allow that the Reformation produced a grand struggle, which called into action all the conflicting energies of the human mind. You will behold both sides

occasionally exasperated ; both demanding “ an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,” blood for blood, and life for life. The Catholics, sometimes vexed in their endeavours to rescue the creed of their ancestors from the assaults of Reformers ; these, in their turn, in their determination to crush the Church of Rome, frequently forgetful of the gentle charity of the Gospel. Mary persecuted ; and did not Elizabeth ? Did not the British Legislature, in the succeeding reigns ? What was that sanguinary code that almost blushed to remain so long on the Statute-Book ? What were those imprisonments, confiscations, and fines, that continually, during the lapse of several reigns, oppressed the Catholic body to the dust ? What were those laws, in virtue of which DEATH was denounced to the Priest for setting foot on the British shores, the shores of his nativity,—*death* for refusing the oath of supremacy, death for celebrating mass, death to the man that gave him a house to cover his head, and finally, death for being converted to the Church of Rome ? That law, by which the mere exercise of the priestly functions was construed into TREASON, and punished accordingly with hanging, disembowelling, and quartering ! and this law literally enforced again and again ! In the single reign of Elizabeth about two hundred Papists were executed for their religion, of which number one hundred and twenty were priests. Stow himself mentions, I think, sixty-nine examples of the execution of Papists, in this reign. As a specimen of these

Protestant chronicles, I will refer you to Stow, p. 750, anno 30 Reg., where we shall see, at a clap, as Lord Castlemain says, "that 14 Papists were executed; six for being made priests beyond the sea, and remaining in the realm contrary to the statute, four for being reconciled to the church, and four for relieving and abetting the others." In the very next page (751), Stow tells us that "John Welden and William Hartley, made Priests at Paris, and remaining here, contrary to the Statute, were hanged, one at Miles-End, the other nigh the Theatre; as was also Robert Sutton, at Clerkenwell, *for being reconciled to the see of Rome.*" The same annalist has also recorded the death of Mrs. Margaret Ward, "who was hanged at Tyburn, *for conveying a cord to a Priest in Bridewell.*"* These are a few of the many instances that could be extracted from Stow, Holinshed, &c.

Penal codes afflicted the Catholics with little interruption down to the reign of George III. Not only the punishment of death, but the various heavy penalties for not attending the service of the Established Church; the various imprisonments, disqualifications, and vexatious exactions, were equally galling, harsh, and oppressive. The education of Papists' children in the creed of their parents was utterly illegal; in one† of the Ecclesiastical Canons, *ex. g.* enforced by the Convoca-

* Stow, p. 750.

† Third Canon for suppressing the growth of Popery.

tion in 1640,* we read that a diligent search is to be made by the Ecclesiastical officers for all recusants, and that the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, are obliged, *under pain of six months' suspension*, carefully to present the names of delinquents, that is, of those who "come not at all to the Church, as also of those who, coming sometimes thither, do yet refuse to receive the Holy Eucharist with us; as likewise of all those who shall either say or hear mass:" we read also that the Bishop presents such delinquents to the Judges of Assize, to be dealt with according to the statutes. In the same canon we find that whoever takes *his own child* from a school, in order to prevent him from being brought up in the doctrine of the Church of England, is to be denounced by the schoolmaster to the Bishop, who presents him to the Judge of Assize, to be punished according to the statutes. If this is not an inquisition with a vengeance, I know not what is!

I pass over the demoralizing, denaturalizing code enacted for Ireland. I pass over the severities and inquisitorial practices of the Court of High Commission, during the reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles, the enforcing of which called forth the loud complaints of the Dissenters. I pass over the condemnation, under Cranmer, of Protestants themselves, for their religious opinions; for example, of six Anabaptists, in 1550, the execution

* See Sparrow's Collection.

of Joan Knell, &c. Several Brownists and Arians were put to death in this reign of Elizabeth. I must here, too, observe, that the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots fell a victim to the religious bigotry of the Legislature. Policy was the pretext, but religion was the primary motive that instigated the advisers of Elizabeth to so cruel and unwarrantable a sentence. Camden* tells us that the first reason urged by the Parliament, in their petition for her execution, was "the preservation of the true religion of Christ." A little before her death, the Earl of Kent insultingly said to her, "Your life will be the death of our religion; as, contrariwise, your death will be the life thereof." Mary, turning to Burgoign, her physician, observed, how strong was the force of truth! that now their real object appeared; that it was not any design on her part against Elizabeth, but purely her religion that had whetted the axe of the executioner.† When Backhurst and Beal first were sent to apprise the Royal victim of the determination of the Government, they intimated to her, that if she lived, the religion received in England could not subsist.‡ But; what shews religious bigotry more than her very execution, was the refusing her the last consolations of religion. She begged, she entreated, that, as she "was firmly fixed in the ancient Roman Catholic religion," some Catholic Priest might be allowed to administer to her the Sacrament and the last consolations of religion,

* Anno 1586, p. 432.

† See Camden.

‡ See Baker's Chronicle.

in her last distressing moments. The request was denied!* By a refinement in religious persecution, her last scene was rendered disconsolate; and, as far at least as the interference of men could effect between God and her soul, she was persecuted beyond the grave! And who was she? A Queen; and by right, an independent Queen; the cousin of Elizabeth herself, and a most amiable lady; a lady, says Camden, "fixed and constant in her religion, of singular piety towards God, invincible magnanimity of mind, wisdom above her sex, and admirable beauty." She it was that was denied, to the very last moment, the administration of those rites which from conscience she approved, and the assistance of a clergyman of that church, to which by the purest conviction she was attached.

I could advance other facts with regard to England, but I wish to be brief; I wish barely to equalize the balance of persecution between us, that we may both forget and forgive. Let us now pass over to Scotland, and there we shall see the religion of the first Reformers wearing an aspect, at once harsh, forbidding, and stained with blood. The commotions caused by Knox; the murder of Cardinal Beaton (an act in which Fox exults, declaring the Reformers were actuated by the Spirit of God!)—the *really executed* Gunpowder-Plot,

* See Baker, &c. Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, came to her, when preparing for the block, but she repeatedly interrupted him, declaring her unshaken attachment to the ancient Church. The same clergyman, upon her head being severed from her body, exclaimed, "So let Queen Elizabeth's enemies perish!"

by which the very father of James I. and husband to Queen Mary was blown up by Protestants; the outrageous and rebellious conduct of the Protestant Lords Morton, Murray, &c.; the Act of 1560, by which *the mere fact of being a Catholic* was punishable by death: these, with other acts and sayings, may be thrown into the odious balance.

Let not Britain be your historical horizon and the boundary of your prospect. Extend your view to the different countries into which the Reformation made its way. You will find that, at Geneva, Michael Servetus was burned to death at the instigation of Calvin, for holding the doctrines of Socinus;* and what is more, Calvin in his writings, advocating the propriety of putting to death for religious opinions. You will see Luther, the great and magnanimous Apostle of the Reformation, like the Earl of Leicester in his desire to "wash the streets of London with the blood of Papists," calling upon his followers "*to wash their hands in the blood of Popes and Cardinals.*"† Look to the excesses of the Reformers in France. A Protestant author himself (Froumen-teau) tells us that they massacred, in the single province of Dauphine, two hundred and fifty-six priests, and one hundred and twelve monks.‡ Another Protestant (Dr. Heylin) relates that "at Pamiers (the chief city of the earldom of Foix)

* See the Protestant Archbishop of Cashel's Address, 1823, —wherein he remarks that Protestants have not only anathematized Catholics, but each other, with relentless bigotry, without remorse or concern.

† Tom i. ed. Wittenb.; p. 195. ‡ Livre de Finance.

the Hugonots, taking offence at a solemn procession held on Corpus-Christi-day, anno 1566, betook themselves presently to arms, and falling on those whom they found unarmed, not only made a great slaughter among the Churchmén, but, in the heat of the same fury, burned down their houses; which outrage being suffered to pass unpunished, gave encouragement and example to some furious zealots to commit the like in other places, as at Montauban, Calion, Rodez, Prejeux, Valence," &c.* Thus far Dr. Heylin.

But I am sick of this odious subject: it is a subject on which Christians should not dilate;—we, the aggressed, are bound to do it in self-defence, and we lament the necessity. To come, then, to a conclusion; at a later period, what were those fabrications of Oates, and the proceedings in consequence of his perjuries, but an unfeeling oppression of the poor Catholics? What were those misrepresentations and calumnies that have at various times gone abroad against us?—for instance, the charging us (as Nero did the Christians at Rome) with the great conflagration in London, anno 1666? What is it but the worst sort of persecution, to perpetuate the calumny upon a public monument, which to the present day, as the poet says,

“Like a tall bully, lifts the head and lies?”†

What were the riots of Lord George Gordon, in 1780,—riots that threatened the safety, nay,

* Hist. Presb. lib. ii. p. 70; ed. 1670.

† “Forgery,” says a Protestant writer, “I blush for the honour of Protestantism, while I write it, seems to have been

the existence, of the metropolis? They were indications that told the frail and irritable nature of the human mind, whatever be its creed; they were ebullitions, clearly shewing that the religion of Protestants, when heated and inflamed with the fuel of "No Popery!" could occasionally boil over with intolerance, insubordination, and outrage. What was that exterminating system pursued by the Protestants* of Armagh, and other parts of Ireland, some years ago; turning thousands out of their houses, and leaving them to perish, without home, refuge, or asylum; without food, comfort, or hope of sustenance? I shall be told, the Catholics there have been equally guilty. Granted: it is not my object to screen the Catholics; my object is, to shew that man is frail, and, whether Protestant or Catholic, may be urged by bad passions to wicked deeds. I heartily wish those wretches who call themselves Catholics, and disturb the tranquillity of the country, and thus are unfeeling enough to stab their own common mother—most heartily do I wish that every man of them was brought to condign punishment; that society was purged of such wicked members, and that Ireland at last may taste the sweets of happiness, to which she has

peculiar to the Reformed. I look in vain for one of those accursed outrages of imposition amongst the disciples of Popery."—Whitaker's Vindication of Mary, Queen of Scots, vol. iii. p. 2, &c. "Forgery appears to have been the peculiar disease of Protestantism," vol. iii. p. 54.

* See Mr. Abercromby's late speech in the House of Commons, on Orange-Associations.

been so long a stranger ; a happiness founded on Christian conciliation, Christian forbearance, and *a Christian (that is, a sincerely loyal) submission to the Protestant government of the country* * Really poor Ireland is the most wretched country under the sun : to see it torn as it is with factions, squalid with poverty, and harassed by vexations, is sufficient to melt down the most unfeeling heart into sympathy. Let us then, both Protestant and Catholic, pour upon her sores the ointment of compassion ; let us probe her wounds, not with the envenomed arrow of irritation and contumelious reproach, but with the saving lancet of the surgeon—the lancet that will steadily remove the

* Those wicked unconstitutional associations are, however, made to appear much more extensive than they really are. Dr. Doyle, Catholic Bishop of Kildare, in his Pastoral Circular, mentions that they are composed of designing men of no principle, fortune, or character. “ Can you mention,” says he, “ any individual not of those classes, who has ever joined your unholy associations ? Have not the Clergy, Priests, and Bishops, with one voice, condemned you ? *Has one of you ever been permitted to partake of a Sacrament in our church, who has not first renounced these associations ?* Has any farmer of property, or dealer of fortune or integrity, been ever found among you ? Has any honest, sober and industrious tradesman, or labourer, ever entered, unless by compulsion, amongst you ?” This address likewise inculcates the strictest loyalty and the most sincere love for their separated brethren : “ Does not your Catechism,” says he, “ teach you that the *most essential* part of your religion consists of the two great precepts of charity—‘ to love God above all things ; and your neighbour as yourself, for the love of God ;’ and again, that by the word neighbour, is signified all mankind, of every description, even those who differ from you in religion ?”

festering humours, and ultimately produce soundness in the affected part, and restore life, vigour, and health, to the whole frame.

Gladly do I close the odious account of mutual persecution. Have I wished to recriminate? Far from me the thought! Had such been my purpose, I would have produced a longer list. But my design is visible to every Christian and charitable mind. Forget, then, the fires of Smithfield; we will readily forget the halter and the knife of Tyburn. Forget the "bloody" Mary; we will readily forget the "bloody" laws in force under Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and II., William, Anne, George I. and II.

"Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim."

We are all composed of inflammable materials. We are all naturally too apt, in the moment of irritation, to turn a deaf ear to the voice of Religion, and blindly to obey the dictates of passion. Why, therefore, hold up the Catholics to the Public as the only persecutors and bigots? Why rake up the embers that were almost extinguished? Why dwell on the actions of individuals, and make *us* responsible for deeds which we condemn with yourselves?—Let us close the account. Surely neither Church has expunged charity from its creed. Let us bury, then, our mutual trespasses in one common grave; and there let them slumber for ever. Let them sleep in eternal darkness and Lethæan forgetfulness: and let us cordially shake hands over their obsequies.

I have now shewn that we yield not in charity, loyalty, or forbearance, to our Protestant countrymen. Now, Reader, we will rest a little on our oars. There are certain observations scattered up and down the Tract, and thrown in the dish to give it a *gout*—to season it highly, to stimulate the surfeited palates of its guests. These ingredients, however, are not at all essential to the mess; in other words, those observations have no connexion with the *impolicy*, and the *political* ground on which the Tract, in its very title page, professes to build its Anti-Papistical battery. These I, perhaps, may presently take it into my head to demolish. For the present, we will consider the general spirit of the production, or rather the real feeling of the Remarker's mind, in order to discover the cause of his treating us in so very genteel and courteous a manner. We shall discover it to be, an alarm for the safety of his church, and an unallayable dread of the powers of Popery. The Church in danger! is his motto. Indeed, this is the tocsin of alarm that rings through the wide welkin, and is sounded by most of the Anti-Catholic writers of the day. To grant Catholic Emancipation, is to remove the dam of Prudence; and down will rush a torrent, sweeping all virtue, worth, and religion, from the land! Then will Pandora's box be opened; and out will fly a motley group of woes! Then will the little pigmy workers of evil leap from their close confinement, and, swelling into giants as they go, trample down the liberties and the honour of the

country! Then you will see outleap, theologians, "with pens of iron dipped in blood;" fanatics, with swords in their hands and faggots on their backs; Jesuits, with silver bullets, grenades and bomb-shells; Jesuits, breathing death and desolation through their nostrils, and sending forth the noxious vapour to the farthest point of Africa, to blight the rising harvest:* then, in fine, whole armies of Popish myrmidons, grim-faced and bloody, will start from the ground; spread like locusts over the land; envelope the whole country in one consuming flame; and exhibit on high, to the gazing world, the huge triumphal arch of Tyranny striding the land, and towering over the smoking ruins! Perhaps the Remarker may think I am now joking to some purpose. Well, it is a happy thing we *can* joke! when lashed so unmercifully by him and others: when smarting and writhing under his charges of idolatry, blasphemy and bloodshed, it is well we have humour enough to laugh, and to return the thumps of his bludgeon with a playful *switch*! Indeed, when I think of the absurdity of the charges, and of our own abhorrence of them, I am like the man that receives the unsparing blows of a cudgel, that pains him sorely, yet laughs in the face of his chastiser, from the idea that he must be in joke. Why not then put a laugh upon the whole affair?

..... Ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat?

* See the Petition of Mr. Parker against Jesuits, lately presented to the House of Commons, by Sir Thomas Lethbridge.

Such, therefore, are the dismal forebodings of some of our Anti-Catholic countrymen, when they contemplate the possibility of the Catholic Claims being conceded. But, assuredly, of all alarmists the Remarker is one of the first class. He appears to be deeply and, I am afraid, incurably diseased with that terrible distemper, *Poperyphobia*; he dreads Papists, as the mad dog does water. And yet he appears to possess some natural courage too, and not a little strength of nerve; he is neither a raid of ghosts nor visions; he undauntedly summons forth the spectres of departed heroes, and, with an unshrinking nerve, beckons to "the hallowed manes of the Cranmers and Latimers,"* to leave their winding-sheets, and stand up in his defence! What is it, then, that can daunt such a champion? Oh! it is that bugbear, Popery! This is the wild beast that haunts his troubled imagination; this the monster, whose fangs are crimsoned with the blood of martyrs, whose very roar will chill the warmest blood, whose very breath sullenly whispers to the breeze, carnage and death! This it is that frightens him, almost beyond self-possession. Hence his opening-text is, "disquietude and alarm,"—his every page is terror and dismay; his every sentence speaks the predominant passion. At one time, like the distracted Laocoon, he runs in wild affright to his unsuspecting countrymen, and, pointing to the wooden "Horse" of Popery,

* Remarks, p. 6.

that already overhangs the walls of the Constitution, exclaims,

..... O miseri, quæ tanta insania, cives?
Creditis avectos hostes!—sic notus Ulysses?

Yes; in that “Horse” is hid the Jesuitical Ulysses and all his crew! *equo ne credite, Teucri*. He dreads the admission of the Popish machine; and views its possibility with sad forebodings.

..... Scandit fatalis machina muros,
Fæta armis!

He foreseeth the consequence—the downfall of our Troy, the eternal disgrace of the nation.

Hostis habet muros, ruit alto a culmine Troja!
..... Fuimus Troës; fuit Ilium et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum! (Alas! Alas!)

At another time, his apprehensions are so powerful, that he fears for the sanity of Parliament; he imagines the intellects of the Senators are disordered. “If facts did not testify to the contrary,” says he, “it would scarcely be credible that any member of the Protestant Church, in the present enlightened age, could be so infatuated (poor Mr. Canning!) as to lend the influence of his name and talents, to uphold a system so degrading to the dignity, so destructive to the best interests of man.”*—Poor Mr. Canning! you must, I fear, be shipped for Anticyra, for the benefit of hellebore!

* Remarks, p. 6.

"In conclusion," says the Tract, "we do not hesitate to affirm, *in the face of King, Lords, and Commons*, that to grant unlimited political power to men, whose every principle and every feeling are opposed to our most sacred institutions, and who would join in *any measure*, or *with any party*, in breaking down all those venerable barriers with which our forefathers have encircled the Crown and the Mitre of these Protestant realms, would argue a degree of infatuation in the Public Councils of the Nation, which could only be accounted for on the principle, "*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*."—So, therefore, if King, Lords, and Commons, by some mischance were to grant the Catholic Claims, they will be placed in a pretty predicament; they will be infatuated and blinded by their Maker, for the purpose of their destruction! King, Lords, and Commons, then, do save your credit! save your intellects! save your persons! and quiet the alarms of the Bristol Remarker!—Grant the Catholics not one inch of ground!

"Alarm" is again the burden of his song. We see him (p. 7th) sounding it "with the humble bird of the Capitol," (and certainly *anserine* timidity is happily expressive)—we see him clamouring and clapping his wings in the faces of the Sentinels of the State, to awake them to the approach of the Popish Gauls. However, to redeem his character for musical talent, he substitutes for the "humble bird" (I dare not call it gander) the enchanting melody of the dying swan, famed, in the poets of

old, for the sweetness of its death-song. A beautiful rhapsody is the expiring note of the pamphlet. It sounds the alarm in the "harmony divine" of poetic numbers, and bids us,

"The cant of liberality despise,
That fatal film, which blinds so many eyes!"

Who sang this? Why is the name hidden from the public? If the Mantuan Bard was paid for every verse of his 6th *Æneid*, ye Muses! will ye suffer this tribute to your choir to pass unfeed?

Again he presents himself to us, on board the vessel of the English Church and State which he seems to say goes by steam. Here he stands tremblingly afraid of an explosion; he watches with anxious apprehensions "the regulating-power of the safety-valve," every moment afraid lest, if it once lose that power, "an explosion should take place and shiver it to atoms."—What so soon? I rather think the Engineer will not thank the Remarker for the compliment of exposing the insecurity of his vessel, and its liability to make so sudden an exit. Few passengers are willing to enter a vessel that will blow them up so unceremoniously.

In fine, he seems, in his alarm, to imagine that Popery is one of the mechanical powers; capable of producing the most important changes in the physical world, by the help of machinery! What! are there any that presume to tell us that it would be "safe to put them in possession of the *fulcrum*

of authority, and leave them at full liberty to wield the *lever* of intrigue in the Councils of the State?" (p. 8.) Why really, he seems to suspect that Catholics have found the secret of realizing the famous theory of Archimedes, *Δος μοι τοπον και τον κοσμον' κινήσω*: ("Give me a [standing] place, and I will heave the globe!") Beware then, ye Protestants! If we do but once grasp that lever, depend upon it, we mean to play you a fine game! We shall not need gunpowder to blow up the Thames, that we may drown the metropolis.* Oh no! with one sweep of machinery, we shall brush you all into the sea! Nay, we intend to whirl the island round upon a pivot; to seat Johnny Groat, warm and snug, in the neighbourhood of Calais, laughing at his good luck; and leave the Metropolis, for so long withholding our claims, whining and shivering in 58° North latitude!!

But, to be serious, you see, Reader, the extreme alarm that pervades the composition: you see that he decidedly predicts that, in the event of the Catholic Question being carried, a breach will be made in the walls of the Constitution, through which ruin and devastation will as certainly pass, as the Grecian Horse, by being admitted into Troy, caused its complete destruction. You see that he tells you, that an "inevitably destructive" explosion of the Church and State will be the consequence; that the King, Lords, and Commons, will become lunatics;

* One of the absurd plots imputed to the Jesuits.

that the Capitol will be taken by storm, unless the alarm of the "humble bird," succeed in rousing the sentinel; and that, if we get hold of the State-lever, we shall deal destruction around us: in other words, that the Government will become Catholic, the King Catholic, the Nation Catholic! Now, I ask the cool and reflecting reader, is not this rather too much? I ask the Remarker himself, in his more reflecting moments, is it not going rather too far? Does he really think that the Church and State will explode? Does he really think that, even were the Catholics so inclined, they could wrest the State-machine out of the hands of a Protestant nation?—especially if the Church of Rome be that idolatrous Lady of Babylon, that enemy to all good, it would be paying a poor compliment to the judgment and propriety of the Protestant Nation, to say that they would so soon cast off their own church and pay their homage to the Scarlet Queen!

After stumbling so long upon a rough and stony road, falling over obstructions and contending with impediments, how pleasant to come to the soft and smooth turf, where we may walk without bruising the feet, or blistering the skin! How pleasant then, at last, to discover something in which I can agree with the Remarker! With the joy of the Philosopher, I can now exclaim *Ευρηκα, ευρηκα!* He treats us with a panegyric of our late good King, George III. To the worth and integrity of George III., I am glad to pay the testimony of respect, veneration, and grati-

tude. Come then, Sir, let us rest a little ; and, in the spirit of chivalrous forbearance, sit down together by the tomb of our common parent : let us unite in the filial office of wreathing a garland for the urn in which his ashes repose, and scattering together upon his monument the lily of affection.

..... Manibus date lilia plenis.

His saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
Munere.

George III. was the father of his people, and the guardian of their happiness. There are few Monarchs, whether Catholic or Protestant, that I would have chosen in preference to the late Sovereign. Besides, *we* owe him a particular debt of gratitude. 'Twas George III. that first struck off the fetters of oppression. 'Twas he that first bade the Priest come forth from his garret, where, in concealment, he had served his God according to the dictates of his conscience—bade him appear in the broad light of day, with a person as inviolable and free as the rest of his fellow-subjects. 'Twas he, in fine, that ordained that the mere exercise of our religion should no longer subject us to the operation of the Statutes. But, you will say, he decidedly opposed the concession of political privileges to the Roman Catholics. Be it so : still I love him, still I revere his memory. I have learned to respect the man who even refuses me a boon, though I may be convinced of the strict propriety of the petition ; and while I subscribe

not to the justice of the denial in itself, yet, as every individual may conscientiously err, I will bear a willing testimony to the integrity of his motive, and to the moderation of his manner. He did not abuse us ; he did not malign us. He did not proclaim aloud to the world, that we were blasphemers, idolators, and rebels. He did not reproach us with " keeping no faith with Heretics," nor stigmatize *the largest portion of the Christian world* with holding principles subversive of every good, both as regards politics and religion. Now, then, Sir, I am sorry to say, up again we must rise from our agreeable task, to measure weapons and renew the combat. More charges remain still unnoticed ; charges brought forward by unfounded assertions, and sustained by the random-strokes of unsparing declamation. He charges us with principles which we anathematize and abhor.

The imputation, that " no faith is to be kept with Heretics,"* is not the least of these groundless and unprovoked acts of aggression. Is he really serious in advancing it ? Knows he not that our conduct and professions are most unequivocally at variance with it ? Knows he not that we have and do and will, most solemnly and unreservedly, disclaim it—detest it—execrate it ? Knows he not that the Universities of Douay, Paris, Salamanca, and Alcala, when consulted by the English Government on the subject, most pointedly exploded and condemned it?—" But the

* Remarks, p. 7.

Council of Constance declared it." No such thing. He alludes, I suppose, to the affair of Huss. Well; how, or in what, did the Council avow the faith-breaking principle? By putting him to death, in spite of the safe-conduct, you will say.

In the first place, the Council did *not* put him to death. It only condemned him,—pronounced him guilty of heresy; and then left him in the hands of the secular magistrate, to enforce the existing laws according to his discretion.

In the second place, supposing him put to death by the Council; where is the breach of faith? What had the Council to do with the safe-conduct? The Council was a spiritual tribunal, and, by the existing laws (*in genere suo*), an independent tribunal; what other authority, then, could pretend to guarantee the delinquent, that was amenable to that independent tribunal? Who could interfere and dictate to the Council, in the exercise of its own right of spiritual jurisdiction; or promise impunity to the fault that came exclusively under its cognizance? Confessedly, no one; otherwise, the very fact of going to that Council was perfectly nugatory on the part of Huss. For thus I argue: Huss was either amenable to the Council, after the receipt of the safe-conduct from the Emperor, or he was not. If not, why repair to it at all? If amenable, therefore, he was punishable if convicted, in spite of any pledge to the contrary from an authority not competent to interfere. Hitherto I

have supposed that the safe-conduct granted by Sigismund promised him impunity, in case of conviction. But it did not by any means: it was a mere travelling-passport,* for the protection of his person; by no means protecting him from the consequences of conviction, no more than a writ of *Habeas-Corpus* can benefit the prisoner, after judicial sentence has been pronounced. With regard to the punishment of death, as I before observed, it was inflicted by the secular arm, in compliance with the standing laws of the State. Indeed, Huss himself hypothetically acknowledged the equity of the sentence; declaring before the Council that, "if a Heretic will not renounce his errors, he ought to be corporally punished;"† thus delivering the doctrine which Calvin was afterwards in his writings to enforce. I am far from being the advocate of such doctrine; but I must say that, from the *politically* dangerous tendency of Huss's doctrine, I am less disposed to quarrel about corporal punishments, when inflicted on such doctrines. One of his tenets was, that Kings, when they had lost the grace of God by mortal sin, *lost their authority at the same time*;" a tenet containing the seeds of anarchy and fanatical rebellion—seeds which actually germinated

* See L'Enfant, the Protestaat Historian, "Un sauf-conduit, pour le mettre a couvert de violence, sauf neanmoins la justice, et autant qu'il depend du Concile; et que l'exige la foi orthodoxe." The words of part of the *safe-conduct* from L'Enfant, lib. ii. § 37.

† L'Enfant, lib. iii. § 7, art. 18.

into revolt in Bohemia, the theatre of his exertions.*

But who can seriously lay at our doors this abominable doctrine of breaking by principle our engagements, nay, our very oaths, with Heretics? Look to our conduct. There does not, for instance, exist on record a more brilliant example of abhorrence of perjury than that exhibited by the Catholics of this kingdom. Were we that perfidious set we are represented to be; did we trample on the obligations of our oaths with Heretics; I ask, what would this day bar against us the doors of Parliament? Were we to take the Test-Oaths, the Oath of Supremacy, &c., and dissemble our dissent from them, we may that moment obtain seats in the House, and, concealed under the mask of hypocrisy and dissimulation, vote for the interests of the Church of Rome. But have we done so? No: during a long series of years, we have endured penalties, pains, and disabilities—nay, imprisonment, privation, and death, rather than hypocritically utter with the lips an oath which the heart belies.†

“The Council of Lateran,” we are told, “enjoined the utter extirpation of Heretics and the dethronement of Heretical Sovereigns;”—and we are afterwards told that all these decrees must be

* Were it not too long, I would shew, from the acts of the Council, the opposite doctrine of keeping faith, in spite of difference of religion.

† *Query*.—On the other side, how was the treaty of Limerick complied with?

to us an "infallible authority." Now, both points we deny. In the first place, the Canon of the fourth Council of Lateran, to which he alludes, is not the production of the Council itself.—See Mathew Paris, Du Pin, and Collier himself. (Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 424.)

In the second place, even admitting the authenticity of the Canon in question, it is a mere act of *discipline*. Now, discipline and doctrine are removed from each other, *toto cœlo*. To doctrines, that is, to articles of faith propounded as such by a General Council of the Church, we as Catholics are bound to subscribe;* but to ecclesiastical regulations, to *acts* and *ordinances*, the whole Church does not necessarily yield accordance. Such regulations are limited in their operations, and transient in their application. They are changeable at will; depending on the contingency of the circumstances that call them forth. One nation may receive them; another may, without apostatizing from the Catholic Church, decline adopting them. Thus, the Apostles themselves, in the Council of Jerusalem, declared that circumcision was not necessary for salvation: this being a dogmatical decision, we regard as settled by an infallible authority, and binding the belief of all, to the end of time. But the same Apostles also decreed abstinence from strangled meats, &c. This was a variable point of discipline, from

* "He that will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen or a publican."

which the Remarker himself, I presume, scruples not to deviate: This is the case with the Canon in question; it is but a matter of discipline.

In the third place, it neither did nor meant to extirpate Heretics in general. Look at the circumstances and the times. It recommended the punishment (by the secular power) of those licentious and unprincipled men, the Albigenses; who at that period (1215), in Provence and Languedoc, were corrupting the human mind, and disseminating doctrines calculated to subvert all order, nay, to dissolve the very elements of society.* They committed excesses, for which they would have been as much condemned by the Bench of Magistrates at the Old Bailey as by the Fathers in the Council of Lateran assembled. Neither does the Canon allude to Sovereigns in general, but to those petty feudatory and dependent Lords, who might abet those disturbers of the public peace, (such as the Earls of Toulouse, Foix, &c.) Hence we find the word "Terram" used, which, I need not inform the Remarker, means estate, or "lands," more appropriately than "kingdom." Observe likewise that this decree was the consequence of the joint concurrence of civil as well as ecclesiastical authorities. The several Princes of Europe were present, either personally or by their Ambassadors; such as the

* One of their tenets was, that marriage was a criminal state of prostitution; still, however, they indulged in the excesses of debauchery. Another doctrine was that of the good and evil principle, after the Manicheans.

Sovereigns of Germany, Grecian Empire, Hungary, England, France, Sicily, Cyprus, &c.

We are next told that the Lateran Council declared that "all engagements entered into with Heretics, *though sanctioned by oaths*, are nullities in themselves." Let him produce those words of the Council, IF HE CAN; then it will be time to answer them.

And here I must, in justice to the Catholics, in justice to a distinguished individual, call upon the Remarker to point out and authenticate a quotation, purporting to be from the pen of Dr. Milner, but which I am fully convinced he never wrote. I allude to that passage, taken from the Christian Guardian, which puts into Dr. Milner's mouth: these words: "*Submit, or else you come under the curse of the Church, and are accounted Heretics, who ought by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed.*"* The passage is in inverted commas, and headed by this clear declaration, "WE QUOTE the Right Rev. Dr. Milner."—Now, gentle Reader, you must know Dr. Milner's sentiments are just the REVERSE. "*It is equally,*" says the Doctor,* "*the part of prudence, of justice, and of charity, not to persecute them in any shape whatever, nor to attack them with any other sword than the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.*" I mean not directly to charge the forgery upon any one, though I am fully persuaded of its non-

* Remarks, p. 5.

† Letters to a Prebendary, p. 120, on Persecution.

existence in Dr. Milner's writings; I only expostulate hypothetically. *Supposing*, then, it does not exist in his work; Reader! what are we to say? Doubtless that the forgery is one of the most disingenuous, dishonourable, and cruelly injurious fabrications, that an author can be guilty of; a fabrication calculated to sever asunder the bonds of Christian charity between us, and to steel the hearts of the undiscerning *vulgus* against the whole Catholic body. Is this the work of charity? Is this the fulfilment of our Saviour's parting wish—"By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another?" Oh! if your cause must be defended, do, in the name of brotherly love, defend it with lawful weapons; do prop up your system; buttress it with arguments; fortify it thick and threefold; but demolish not the temple of Truth to find your materials. If your cause be the cause of truth and justice, does it need such supports to uphold it?

"Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis."

If the passage do exist, point out the work, the page; we here give its author the opportunity of producing it, if he can; then I for one will rejoice that he has cleared himself. If it was not hammered out in the forge of the Christian Guardian, let the manufacturer be produced.

From one quotation, I proceed to another; not to prove it false, but to express my wish that it were so. Yes! for the honour of the Episcopal

Bench, and for the cause of Christian charity, I wish it were unfounded. I allude to the words of the present Bishop of Ely :* “ *Tamdiu illos,*” says he ; “ *tanquam omnis humani pariter divinique juris hostes, pertimescere——necesse est.*” Reader ! knowest thou their meaning ?—They mean that we are to be dreaded, *as the enemies of every law, divine and human !* I blush for the assertion ! Why, the very cannibal, whose hands are reeking, and whose lips are purpled, with the blood of his fellow-creatures, respects *some* laws, human or divine ! To brand, therefore, the predominant society of the Christian world, with such a stigma——but I cannot believe it ; he could not have intended it ; truth would oppose it ; charity would forbid it ; the meek character of a clergyman would restrain it. It must be either a garbled extract, or, if uttered, uttered with inadvertence. It must have been owing to his desire of couching the idea in classical diction, and of rounding off the period in Ciceronian fullness, without sufficient attention to the import of the words. If so, why should it be sent abroad to the Public ? I feel convinced that, were his Lordship to review it, he would expunge the clause ; and I moreover feel convinced that he is by no means obliged to the Remarker for giving it publicity.

I am almost fatigued with the ungrateful occupation of pointing out the untenable passages of this Philippic. I have followed not its order : were I to follow it, step by step, I should have

* Remarks, p. 15.

some blemish to expose at every advance, and thus should swell this pamphlet into a volume. Wherever I open the Tract, I discover exceptionable asseverations; and thus it is that I have culled out those parts particularly which, if true, would substantiate against us the charges of conscientious disloyalty, persecution, and impiety. There are many accusations incidentally thrown in, that purely regard our religious tenets; accusations, *ex. g.* of idolatry, blasphemy, mummery, ignorance, &c. But to what purpose? The professed object of the Remarks is political; why, then, lead your readers into our places of worship, to scoff at them discharging their conscientious duty to their Maker? Why ring the changes on idolatry and other alleged crimes, when the Remarker himself acknowledges it unconnected with the question? Or, if it must be done, why not prove them at the same time? "Let them not (says the Protestant Prebendary of Westminster, Dr. Thorndyke)—let them not lead people by the nose, to believe they can prove their supposition, that the Papists are idolaters, *when they cannot.*"* We recoil at the crime of idolatry as much as the Remarker. I am a Roman Catholic by the purest conviction: for what worldly or interested motive is there to attach me to the Old Church; what temporal inducement, to compel me to sit down in the shades of obloquy and misrepresentation? But an idolator I am not, and, by the grace of God, I never will be. Never will I prostitute the noblest act of

* Thorndyke, *Just Weights and Measures.*

the soul (supreme adoration) to a creature : to the God of Heaven only belongs the tribute. " But," it will be said, " we adore the Blessed Virgin." Far from us the thought ; we are not so stupid. The Blessed Virgin is infinitely, infinitely beneath the dignity of the Creator ; for between finite and infinite there is an infinite distance. We venerate her, it is true, as the holiest of pure creatures : with the Ambassador from Heaven, the Archangel Gabriel, we hail her " full of grace ;" with the inspired Elizabeth, we pronounce her " blessed among women ;" but, to pay her divine honours, due to God only, we declare to be an enormous crime.—" But we worship images." Do ask the first Catholic child you meet this question : " May we pray to relics and images?" He will reply, " No, by no means ; for they have neither life nor sense to hear or help us." (Catholic Catechism.)—" But we idolatrously adore the bread of the Sacrament." Not at all : Christ the Son of the living God we adore ; him we believe to be present. He has said, " This is my body ;" we believe, then, that it is his body : with two-thirds of the Christian world we believe it ; with the Universal Church of all past ages we believe it.—" But our religion is all mummary and superstition." He alludes, I suppose, to our ceremonies. Ceremonies, by addressing the senses, we believe to be often the external means of stimulating the heart to piety ; but the Catholic Church believes and teaches, that true religion is seated in the heart, and that, without that piety of the heart,

ceremonies are unavailing, empty, vain, and useless. Observe that the Roman Catholic Church is not, like that of England, a National Church: it is, and has been ever, spread over the Christianized part of the globe. Now, every one will allow that other nations, in general, have more vivacity than the cool and deliberative English; consequently, on such, external aids will naturally make more impression. Now, as the Roman Catholic Church, for the preservation of unity of discipline, enacts the same laws for all her children, the genius of the majority should be attended to.

This argumentation may weigh something in the Remarker's judgment; but, independently of this consideration of national predilections, Catholic rites in themselves, from their antiquity, their allusive signification, their solemnity when performed with decorum, have been found by experience to strengthen religious impressions, and afford; when properly understood, both edification and instruction.

Abuses may exist (and what institutions are exempt from them?)—unauthorized ceremonies may be sometimes employed; but the object of the Catholic Church, in adopting her own rites, is purely with reference to the ulterior and main object, the devotion of the heart. Has the Remarker forgotten the Lord Bishop of Bristol's Address to the Clergy?—"To suppose," says his Lordship, "that outward ceremonies contribute little towards the maintenance and diffusion of

spiritual religion in the world, is to suppose that the constitution of man's nature has undergone a total change; that he has become altogether independent of his senses, and that his mind is no longer influenced by association and sympathy."* Has the Remarker forgotten the Coronation, the ceremonies in Westminster Abbey, the anointing, &c.? Surely, in his principles, this is mummery in perfection.

With regard to the charge of "locking up in an unknown tongue the rich treasures of God's holy word," I must express my surprise that the Remarker's mind has been so long locked up in ignorance. If he will unlock it, conviction and information will quickly enter. He then will know that he may procure as many English Catholic Bibles as he pleases. With regard to keeping the people "bound in the chains of ignorance," I will only observe, he will hear just as much instruction in a Catholic Chapel as in a Protestant Church. Dr. Doyle likewise, in his late Pastoral, thus addresses the Ribbonmen: "All your chapels, dearest brethren! are provided with libraries, in which are books, containing tracts of piety and explanations of the law; read and study them, and you will become wise unto salvation."

In conclusion, I would suggest to the Remarker, the next time he employs his pen against Catholics, to accompany his assertions with a few *proofs*.

* Bishop of Bristol's Charge, August, 1821.

I would beg him to reflect that invective is no argument, declamation no evidence, accusation no verdict. *Prove* that we are idolators, *prove* that we are blasphemers, and then hold us up to public execration; and not till then: in the name of Charity, not till then! Were the abominable tenets imputed to us the *real* tenets of the Church of Rome, I would not be a Catholic ONE MINUTE! Allow me, however, an equal and (I may modestly ask it) a *superior* knowledge of my own religion to yourself; and, with this knowledge, I must inform my readers, that its countenance has been generally blackened and its features distorted by misrepresentations and misconceptions; and that a vast proportion of the Public is as little acquainted with the *real* doctrines of the Catholic Church, as the vulgar are with the peculiar tenets of the Chinese, or the Bramins of Hindostan! Even the most enlightened Protestants, even those who warmly and steadily befriend us, frequently, if not generally, conceive us to maintain doctrines which really we do not.* What, then, must be the feelings of the Catholic, when he is daily branded with the imputations of sacrilege, persecution, and idolatry; when he is daily vilified, misrepresented, and abused; when he is made to hold, whether he will or not, doctrines which his soul abhors? Talk of intole-

* I could enumerate many instances. Protestants, for example, well informed in other respects, attribute to us the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. Now, it is no article of our faith that the Pope himself is infallible.

rance! talk of persecution! but, to a honest and upright mind—to a mind that seeks to serve its God without regard to *temporal interest*—to a mind that adheres to the Church of Rome from the firm belief that she is Apostolical in her descent, her orders, and her doctrines; universal in point of extent, numbers and diffusion, not only in this but in past ages; a Church, which Luther himself declared was in possession of the very “kernel of Christianity” *—to a conscientious mind like this, a charge of idolatry is the most grievous of persecutions. It inflicts a more cutting wound than the axe of the executioner; and if anything could harrow up the frail soul of man into resentment, or overcast it with sullenness, 'tis assuredly this. I lament extremely that bad feeling should exist on either side; but confessedly it is owing to such productions as that under consideration that the wound is perpetually kept from closing. Perpetually, alas! is it irritated and inflamed. Perpetually does the Vulture of Discord feed upon it, and, by a constant voracity, prevent it from healing.

..... Rostroque immanis vultur obunco
Immortale jecur tundens, fœcundaque pænis
Viscera—nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.

How long is this state of things to continue?
How long this soreness, this antipathy? “*Quousque tandem?*” How long is that ill-fated country, Ireland, to be distracted and divided? Till Fac-

* Luth. lib. contra Anabapt.

tion relents, and Anger is assuaged. Till both the contending parties relax the sinews of the outstretched arm of retaliation, and deaden that mutual reaction which supplies unceasing energy to the conflict. This is an event which every good heart must hail with exultation. Now then, tell me, frankly and candidly, is the tract before us calculated to promote that end? If the spirit of Ireland be such as is represented (though by no means is it general), but supposing it the prevailing spirit,—I ask, what would “The Remarks” do to counteract it? What virtue is it, they are in that case meant to display? Is it patriotism?—patriotism to outrage a man’s feelings,—patriotism to tell him, already discontented, you are a blasphemous and idolatrous rebel? Is it prudence?—prudence to make an experiment of his patience, by goading him on with reproach and vituperation,—prudence, to lash a lion that already grumbles? Is it honour?—honour, to tantalize and upbraid a man when suffering from the keenest distress, and already humbled beneath you by disqualifications and denials? It is not patriotism; it is not prudence; it is not honour. “*Sed finis sit.*”—Perhaps it may be asked, how could we have the assurance to reply? Are we then to have our ears constantly assailed by reproaches, and stunned by incessant invectives; and not to be allowed one word in justification? Are we to sit down and suffer the indiscriminating vulgar to construe our silence into an acknowledgement of our guilt?

Semper ego auditor tantum! nunquamne reponam?

Do allow us the privilege you would concede to the vilest slave; nay, to the dumb brute! Scourge a slave, you will allow him to feel; trample on a dog, you will allow him to cry out. And we have cried out; but it is not with the bitterness of resentment; 'tis with the earnestness of a forgiving expostulation. To give offence is the farthest from our thoughts. He that reads this reply, I am convinced, will perceive that the very contrary has been our object. The most inveterate foe, with but one spark of honour in his breast, will permit us to parry a blow, and to prevent ourselves from being overwhelmed and buried under a heap of obloquy, abuse, and unanswered accusation.— If this be answered, we shall be gratified. But, in justice and fairness, we call upon the author to affix his *name* to the next attack, if he chooses to proceed to substantiate his charge. Why hide himself? Why lurk behind the shelter of an anonymous publication? Why hurl against us a deadly weapon, and then skulk unseen to his ambush?—If his cause be that of patriotism, truth, religion and justice, it is most honourable to defend it; why not then march forth manfully into the open field, and avow himself its champion? The many are on his side; a whole phalanx is at his back: what has he to fear? The writer of this had but a plain straight-forward course to pursue; therefore he advanced into the midst, shielded by nothing but urgency of self-defence, the justice of his cause, and the rectitude of his intentions.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Page 12. "*Let him be a Nero or a Caligula,*" &c.—To prevent any misconstruction of his meaning, the Author here observes, that, in the passage referred to, he means not to touch upon the doctrine of passive obedience; as regards the civil duties of a subject, or the lawfulness of civil resistance in cases of an exterminating cruelty or depopulating tyranny, on the part of the Monarch. He means not, for instance, to assert, that, because Caligula had wished the whole Roman people to have but one neck, that with one blow they might be summarily despatched, in case of his displeasure, —therefore the Roman people, to a map, would be obliged tamely to surrender their necks to the sword of the monster. Waiving this subject entirely, he means simply to assert that, on the score of religion, such disobedience would be inexcusable. Difference of religion can never constitute a just ground for revolt. Whatever be the religion of the Civil Government, be it none at all, its authority remains the same. Civil government and the duties of religion are independent of each other: like parallel lines, they cannot clash; they admit of no mutual interference.





